

THIRTY-SIXTH
AND
FINAL
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
PHILADELPHIA

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

"Send the tidings all abroad;
With a sound of broken chains
Tell the nations that He reigns,
Who alone is Lord and God!"

APRIL, 1870.

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REPORT.

THE Amended Constitution of the United States, which in the year 1865 declared that slavery should no more exist in this Nation, to-day declares that, among the conditions of American citizenship, color shall be, forevermore, unknown. Beneath that broad banner of civil and political liberty the white man and black man stand, side by side. Master and slave have become equal fellow-citizens. Thus is accomplished the work for which the Anti-Slavery Societies of this country were organized. The simplest statement of this fact is laden with such deep meaning that we strive in vain to grasp it in one thought. It contains the result of many years of arduous labor, sustained by intense sympathy with the slave and undying faith in the fundamental principles of our cause; it encloses the promise of a glorious future for our country; it is the answer to the agonizing cry of millions of hearts, "How long, O Lord! how long?" It is the realization of visions which, year after year, beckoned us onward; and which, though ever in the future, cast such light upon our path that we could tread it fearlessly, never doubting the safety of its

course. The goal is won, our faith is justified, our "hope is changed to glad fruition," our prayer, to the joyous cry, "Sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously!" We review the way by which He has led us unto this hour, with a vivid sense of the value of its discipline and education for ourselves, and a deep consciousness that whatever precious gifts we may have laid upon the altar of this great cause of Humanity, it has far more richly endowed our own souls. The debt which we owe to it can be redeemed only by faithful service in other fields of labor.

The events of the last year, though culminating gloriously as they do, teach us that many such fields will invite us, wherein we may and must contribute to the payment of the great debt which the white men of this Nation owe to the long-oppressed colored men. The prejudice and pride of caste from which they have suffered so terribly, will not suddenly die out of the Nation's heart; neither State nor Church is yet really converted to Christianity; and, for a long time to come, missionary work will be required for the protection of our newly-enfranchised citizens in their Constitutional rights, and for the eradication of that mean and cruel contempt for an injured race, which still exists in the community. During the last year many disgraceful facts have revealed its existence in our cities, startling to persons who confidently expect that with the crashing fall of the tree each twig and leaf will instantly die. Workingmen's associations have banished colored men from their membership,

and sought to deprive them of opportunities of honorable and lucrative labor in their respective trades; and physicians, whose superior claims of culture ought to insure manlier conduct, have meanly combined to insult and injure their colored professional brethren. In the capital of the Nation, as in the large cities of even the Northern States, colored persons seeking admission to places of amusement, or of instruction, are frequently met with refusal and insult. Our churches, with few exceptions, are not yet sufficiently christianized to open their pews doors to black and white men alike; and the colored people of Philadelphia are still taxed for the support of schools which their children are forbidden to enter.

Nor is the spirit which invoked the rebellion wholly exercised, as the records of persecution and suffering in the South clearly show. In its departing rage it will rend the victims of its former power, to the utmost extent of its ability. The transition of those victims from chattelhood to citizenship has been through a sea of blood; and the exercise of their rights of citizenship will, for a season, not infrequently test their moral heroism. But their record of the past nine years has been so truly grand, that their friends may confidently trust them to meet the demands of the future. When the strength of the South was on the battle-field, and city, plantation and homestead were at the mercy of a race upon whom, for generations, injury, insult, torture beyond description, had been heaped by proud and cruel

masters, they forbore to take the revenge so entirely within their power. The blazing homes, the murdered women and children, painted in prophetic story by slaveholders and their allies, were predictions which the liberated slaves never fulfilled. Eagerly, gratefully, they took the liberty which the war had brought them; and from that hour to this they have manifested, by word and deed, forbearance, forgiveness, magnanimity, towards their enslavers, so rare, so wonderful, that the history of the world can scarcely furnish its parallel. Bravely in the face of imminent peril have they addressed themselves to the performance of their new duties. The record of the first election in Virginia where colored men used the ballot, tells the story of many such elections throughout the South. One who witnessed it, reports that on the evening previous to the election, "these loyal-hearted new citizens, devoted themselves in their place of worship, to the high duty before them, with prayer, and the grand old psalm, *Before Jehovah's awful throne;*" then separated to meet at sunrise, and appear in a body at the polls. One hundred men, without a foot of land of their own, and with notices in their pockets, by the old slave-masters, threatening to turn them shelterless from the soil; there they stood, in the face of the oppressor, and voted for Free Schools, Free Speech and Equal Taxation."

They who have thus proved their fitness for citi-

zenship, may well claim ample protection from the Government in the exercise of all a citizen's rights.

A review of the past year shows some moral progress in the community, and strengthens our hope for the nation's future. Several of the daily newspapers of our city, once our antagonists, have, for the last few years, been our powerful allies. "*The Morning Post*," unfettered by party, true to its own convictions of right, sympathetic with all oppressed classes, has given us most efficient aid and done good service in the cause of freedom; "*The Press*" has ably defended the rights of the colored man; and "*The Evening Bulletin*" has given its influence in the same direction.

The last year, like each preceding one, has removed from the ranks of the Abolitionists faithful laborers, who, having finished their earthly work, were called to higher responsibilities and duties. Three of our own members, and one who in sympathy and most efficient co-operation was truly with us, though not enrolled on the list of our membership, have passed away from us since our last anniversary. One* in the early beauty of ripened womanhood consecrated to high service in the cause of Humanity, with sympathies not narrowed, but enlarged, by domestic ties, suddenly laid down the work which filled her hands and heart, and to-day her seat among us is vacant. And one† has left us whose life was a continuous act of self-denying ministration to others,

* Hannah P. Wildman. † Emma Eppen.

and whose loyalty to the Right never faltered. Another,* who, in the earlier days of our enterprise, toiled faithfully with us, and whose unfailing hope ever cheered us in our work, has accomplished her earthly mission. Though, during many years past, her residence has been in another State, her sympathy with our Society was never diminished. Two,† whom we sadly miss, were veterans in our field, whose interest in our enterprise was coeval with its commencement. These laborers of the early morning had borne well the noontide heat, and the evening found them watching unwearied at their posts, whence they were summoned just as the last ripe sheaves of our harvest were to be gathered in;

"And they saw, ere the eye was darkened,

The sheaves of the harvest-bringing;

And knew, while the ear yet hearkened,

The voice of the reapers singing."

The labors of this Society, into which, year after year, many have entered, and, passing hence, bequeathed them unto their comrades and successors, we close to-day. It is fitting that our final Report should briefly review our history.

This Society was organized on the ninth day of December, 1833. It was one of the earliest of those Associations formed in this country on the basis of man's inalienable right to freedom and the consequent duty of the immediate emancipation of every

* Gertrude K. Burleigh.

† Elias C. Yarnall and Martha M. Corson.

slave. Its object, as expressed in its Constitution, was the abolition of American slavery and the elevation of the free colored people. Its means of action were the dissemination of truth and the knowledge of facts relative to the subject, by the ordinary medium of books, tracts, newspapers, and lectures. It was organized by eighteen earnest women, who met for that purpose in a school-room in New street, in this city, then occupied by Catherine McDermott. Its first officers were: Esther Moore, Presiding Officer; Margaretta Forten, Recording Secretary; Loretta Mott, Corresponding Secretary; Anna Bunting, Treasurer, and Lydia White, Librarian.

The Annual Reports of the first two years of this Society are not extant; but from its Third Annual Report we learn that, in each of those years, the Society memorialized Congress, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States. Also that, in the second year of its existence, it appointed a Standing Committee for the purpose of visiting the schools for colored children in this city, and aiding them in any practicable way. In the third year of its existence it appointed a Committee "to make arrangements for the establishment of a course of scientific lectures, which our colored friends were particularly invited to attend." The phraseology of this statement implies that white persons were not to be excluded from these lectures, and indicates a clear-sighted purpose, on the part of the Society, to bear its testi-

mony against distinctions of caste founded upon complexion.

It appears from the records that it was in this year that the Society commenced the publication of anti-slavery documents. Doubtless, it had previously been supplied with them for circulation by the American Anti-Slavery Society, which was organized in this city a few days previous to the formation of this Society. In this year it published an Address to the Women of Pennsylvania, calling their attention to the claims of the slave, and urging them to sign petitions for his emancipation. Mrs. Elisabeth Heyrick's well-known pamphlet, entitled "Immediate, not Gradual Emancipation," was during the same year republished by the "Anti-Slavery Sewing Society," a body composed of some of the members of this Association, but not identical with it, which met weekly at the house of our Vice-President, Sidney Ann Lewis. Another event, important and far-reaching beyond our power then to foresee, had marked the year. A member of this Society* had received and accepted a commission to labor as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is evident, from the language of the Report, that the newly-appointed agent and her fellow-members regarded the mission as one fraught with peculiar trial of patience and faith, and anticipated the opposition which such an innovation on the usages of the times

* Angelina E. Grimké.

would elicit. Her appointed field of labor was among her own sex, in public or in private; but in the next year's Report it is announced that she had enlarged the sphere of her labor. The fact should never be forgotten by us that it was a member of this Society who first broke the soil in that field where so many women have since labored abundantly, and are now reaping so rich a harvest.

The next year was made memorable by a still greater innovation upon established usage—the first National Convention of American Anti-Slavery Women. It is interesting and profitable to notice, as the years passed, how the field of labor enlarged on every side; and also how the new duties and responsibilities educated the laborers. Each year brought new revelations, presented new aspects of the cause, and made new demands; yet these, however unexpected, seem not to have awakened alarm or distrust of our enterprise, nor, after a few years of experience, much surprise. Our early Reports mention these Conventions of Women, which were held during three consecutive years in New York and this city, as a novel measure, which would, of course, excite opposition; and they also record the fact that “the editorial rebukes, sarcasm, and ridicule” which they elicited, did not exceed the anticipations of the Abolitionists.

The second of these Conventions was held in this city, in the midst of those scenes of riot when infuriated Southern slaveholders and cowardly Northern

tradesmen combined for purposes of robbery and arson, and surrounded Pennsylvania Hall with their representatives, the mob which plundered and burnt it, while the City Government looked on consenting to these crimes. That Convention was the last assembly gathered in that Hall, then just dedicated to the service of Freedom. Its fifth session, on the 17th of May, 1838, was held, calmly and deliberately, while the shouts of an infuriated mob rose around the building, mingling with the speaker's voices, and sometimes overwhelming them; while stones and other missiles crashing through the windows imperilled the persons of many of the audience. The presence of an assembly of women was supposed to be a partial protection against the fury of the rioters; and believing that the mob would not fire the building while it was thus filled, a Committee of anti-slavery men sent a request to the Convention to remain in session during the usual interval between the afternoon and evening meetings, if, with their knowledge of their perilous surroundings, they felt willing to do so. The President laid the request before the Convention, and asked, Will you remain? A few minutes of solemn deliberation; a few moment's listening to the loud madness surging against the outer walls; a moment's unvoiced prayer for wisdom and strength, and the answer came; *We will*; and the business of the Meeting proceeded. But before the usual hour of adjournment arrived, another message came from the Committee, withdrawing their request,

and stating that further developments of the spirit pervading the mob and the city, convinced them that it would be unwise for the Convention to attempt to hold possession of the Hall for the evening. The Meeting adjourned at the usual hour, and, on the next morning, the burnt and crumbling remains of Pennsylvania Hall told the story of Philadelphia's disgrace, and the temporary triumph of the spirit of slavery.

The experience of that morning is very briefly mentioned in the published "Proceedings" of the Convention and in the Fifth Annual Report of our Society. The former simply states that "the Convention met, pursuant to adjournment, at Temperance Hall, but found the doors closed by order of the Managers;" and that they were offered the use of a school-room, in which they assembled. Our Report mentions that on that day the Convention held its closing session of six hours in a school-room which was occupied by two of our members. But they who made a part of the thrilling history of those times well remember how the women of that Convention walked through the streets of this city, from the Hall on Third street, closed against them, to the school-room on Cherry street, hospitably opened to them by Sarah Pugh and Sarah Lewis, and were assailed by the insults of the populace as they went. The tone of the Convention, indicated by its published Resolutions, reveals the power of devotion to a great moral principle. It was a Meeting memorable to those who

composed it; and was one of many interesting associations of our early anti-slavery history which cluster around the school-house, which in those days was always open to the advocacy of the slave's cause.*

An incident in connection with the last of these Conventions, recorded in our Sixth Report, shows how readily and hopefully, in the beginning of our work, we turned for help to the churches and religious societies of the land; and how slowly and painfully we learned their real character. "It is long since we ceased to expect efficient help from them; but in those first years of our warfare against slavery, we had not learned that the ecclesiastical standard of morals in a Nation cannot be higher than the standard of the populace generally."

A Committee of Arrangements appointed by this Society to obtain a house in which the Convention should be held, reported:

"That in compliance with a Resolution passed at a meeting of this Society, an application was made to each of the seven Monthly Meetings of Friends, in this city, for one of their Meeting-houses, in which to hold the Convention." The report, which will be found in full in our Annual Report for the year 1839, states that of these seven Monthly Meetings, two returned respectful answers, declining the application; three refused to hear it read; one appointed two persons to examine it, and then decided "that it should

* This building, the property of Jacob Pierce, was thus imperilled with his free consent.

be returned without being read," though a few members urged "that it should be treated more respectfully;" and that from one Meeting no answer was received.

As to other denominations of professed Christians, similar applications had been frequently refused by them, although there was one exception which should be ever held in honorable remembrance by the Abolitionists of Philadelphia. The use of the church of the Covenanters, in Cherry street, of which Rev. James M. Wilson was for many years the pastor, was never refused for an Anti-Slavery Meeting, even in the most perilous days of our Enterprise. Another fact in connection with the Convention of 1839 it is pleasant to remember now, when the faithful friend whose name it recalls has gone from among us: The Committee of Arrangements reported that their difficulties and perplexities "were relieved by a voluntary offer from that devoted friend of the slave, John H. Cavender, who, with kindness at once unexpected and gratifying, offered the use of a large unfurnished building in Filbert street, which had been used as a Riding School: which was satisfactorily and gratefully occupied by the Convention."

In the year 1840, our Society sent delegates to the Assembly called "The World's Anti-Slavery Convention," which was held in London, in the month of May of that year. As is well known, that body refused to admit any delegates excepting those of the male sex, though the invitation was not thus limited: consequently, this Society was not represented there.

The year 1850 was an epoch in the history of the Anti-Slavery cause. The guilt and disgrace of the Nation was then intensified by that infamous statute known by the name of "The Fugitive Slave Law." Its enactment by the Thirty-First Congress, and its ratification by Millard Fillmore's signature, was the signal for an extensive and cruel raid upon the colored people of the North. Probably no statute was ever written, in the code of a civilized nation, so carefully and cunningly devised for the purpose of depriving men of liberty. It put in imminent peril the personal freedom of every colored man in the land. It furnished the kidnapper all possible facilities, and bribed the judge on the bench to aid him in his infamous work. The terrible scenes that followed; the cruel apathy of the popular heart and conscience, the degradation of the pulpit, which sealed the deed with its loud Amen! the mortal terror of a helpless and innocent race of people; the fierce assaults on peaceful homes; the stealthy capture, by day and by night, of unsuspecting freeborn men; the blood shed on Northern soil; the mockeries of justice acted in United States' court-rooms; are they not all written in our country's history, and indelibly engraven on the memories of Abolitionists?

From the case of Adam Gibson, captured in this city, by the notorious kidnapper, Alberti, and tried before the scarcely less notorious Ingraham, which is recorded in our Report of the year 1850, and which was succeeded in the next year by the Chris-

Liana tragedy, (down to the year 1861, our Annual Reports bear sad witness to similar outrages committed in Pennsylvania. No pen can record, no human power can estimate, the aggregate of woe and guilt which was the legitimate result of that Fugitive Slave Bill.

The year 1855 was marked by a series of events unique in our history. A citizen of Philadelphia, whose name will always be associated with the cause of American liberty, in the legal performance of his duty, quietly informed three slaves who had been brought into this State, by their master, a Virginia slaveholder, that, by the laws of Pennsylvania, they were free. (The legally emancipated mother, Jane Johnson, availing herself of this knowledge, took possession of her own person and her own children; and their astonished master suddenly discovered that his power to hold them was gone forever. No judge, commissioner, or lawyer, however willing, could help him to recapture his prey. But a judge of the United States District Court could assist him in obtaining a mean revenge upon the brave man who had enlightened an ignorant woman respecting her legal right to freedom. Judge Kane, usurping jurisdiction in the case, and exercising great ingenuity to frame a charge of contempt of Court, succeeded in his purpose of imprisoning Passmore Williamson in our county jail. The baffled slaveholder also found sympathizers in the Grand Jury, who enabled him to indict, for riot and assault and battery, Passmore Williamson, Wil-

liver Still, and five other persons. During the trial which ensued, the prosecutor and his allies were confounded by the sudden appearance of a witness whose testimony, that she was not forcibly taken from her master's custody, but had left him freely, disconcerted all their schemes, and defeated the prosecution.* The presence of Jane Johnson in that court room jeopardized her newly-acquired freedom; for though Pennsylvania was pledged to her protection, it was questionable whether the Slave Power, in the person of United States Officers and their ever ready minions, would not forcibly overpower State authority and obtain possession of the woman. It was an intensely trying hour for her and for all who sympathized with her. Among those who attended her through that perilous scene, were the President of this Society,† and several of its members. Our Report for that year states that "all those ladies will testify to the calm bearing and firm courage of this emancipated slave-mother, in the hour of jeopardy to her newly-found freedom." Protected by the energy and skill of the presiding Judge, William D. Kelley, and of the State officers, her safe egress from the court room was accomplished; and she was soon placed beyond the reach of her pursuers.

* On the charge of riot, the verdict in each case, was "not guilty." On the charge of assault, Ballard and Oustis, two of the accused, were found "guilty," and sentenced to pay a small fine and the costs of prosecution, and to be imprisoned during one week. The others were acquitted.

† Sarah Pugh, at that time, President.

In 1859 we reaped a rich harvest from long years of sowing, in the result of the trial of the alleged fugitive slave, Daniel Webster. This trial will never be forgotten by those of us who witnessed it. The arrest was made in Harrisburg, in the month of April, and the trial was in this city before United States Commissioner John O. Longstreth. We do not, at this distance of time need the records of that year, to remind us that "it was with heavy and hopeless hearts that the abolitionists of this city gathered around that innocent and outraged man, and attended him through the solemn hours of his trial." The night which many of the members of this Society passed in that court, keeping vigils with the unhappy man whose fate hung tremulous on the decision of the young Commissioner, was dark with despair; and the dawn of morning brought no hope to our souls. We confidently expected to witness again, as we had often witnessed before, the triumph of the kidnapper and his legal allies over law and justice and human liberty. In the afternoon of that day we re-assembled to hear the judicial decision which should consign the wretched man to slavery, and add another page to the record of Pennsylvania's disgrace. But a far different experience awaited us. Commissioner Longstreth obeyed the moral sentiment around him and, doubtless, the voice of his conscience, and pronounced the captive free. "The closing scenes of this trial; the breathless silence with which the crowded assembly in the court-room waited to hear the death-knell of the innocent prisoner; the painfully sudden trans-

ition from despair to hope and thence to certainty of joy; the burst of deep emotion; the fervent, thanksgiving, wherein was revealed that sense of the brotherhood of man which God has made a part of every human soul; the exultant shout which went up from the multitude who thronged the streets waiting for the decision; * these no language can portray, but they are life-long memories for those who shared in them. Our Report of that year notes this event "as a proof of a great change wrought in the popular feeling," the result of twenty-five years of earnest effort to impress upon the heart of this community Anti-Slavery doctrines and sentiments. Then, for the first time, the Abolitionists of Philadelphia found their right of free speech protected by our city authorities. Alexander Henry was the first Mayor of this city who ever quelled a pro-slavery mob. Our last record of a victim sacrificed to this statute, is of the case of Moses Horner, who was kidnapped near Harrisburg in March, 1860, and doomed to slavery by United States Judge John Cadwallader, in this city. One more effort was made a few months later, to capture, in open day, in the heart of this city, a man alleged to be a fugitive slave; but it failed of ultimate success. The next year South Carolina's guns thundered forth the doom of the slave power. She aimed them at Fort Sumter and the United States Government. God guided their fiery death to the very heart of American Slavery.

* Report of the year 1869.

From that hour to this, the Abolitionists, full of hope and courage, strong in faith that the consummation of their work was drawing nigh, have zealously watched and guarded the interests of the oppressed race for whose deliverance they had toiled so long. The years of this interval passed rapidly, filled with grand events, so quickly succeeding one another that, in our wondering joy and gratitude, we could scarcely comprehend their greatness; yet, to-day, as we look across them, half a century of life seems to be crowded into that short period. The Nation's appeal to the colored man for help in battle; the Proclamation of Emancipation; the people's adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which abolished legal slavery in this Nation; the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, the first section of which declared the colored man a citizen; these have we welcomed with our glad "All Hail!" Among their practical results, we have seen colored men promoted to places of honor and trust in our Government, at home and abroad; we have seen them successful in many a struggle for their civil rights; and now, to our and the Nation's eyes is given a new illustration of poetical justice—a colored man occupying the seat of Jefferson Davis in the Senate of the United States.

But the last, great triumph of our cause, is the adoption by Congress and complete ratification by the People, of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment, which declares that:

10 **FIFTH: RIGHT OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES**
 TO VOTE SHALL NOT BE DENIED OR ABBRIDGED BY THE
 UNITED STATES, OR BY ANY STATE, ON ACCOUNT OF
 RACE, COLOR, OR PREVIOUS CONDITION OF SERVITUDE.
 11 **THE CONGRESS SHALL HAVE POWER TO ENFORCE**
 THIS ARTICLE BY APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION."

12 This Amendment was reported from a Committee
 of Conference, on the 26th day of February, 1869,
 and adopted by the Senate of the United States by
 a vote of thirty-nine ayes, against thirteen nays; all
 the affirmative voters being Republican, and all the
 negative Democrats. The House adopted it by an
 affirmative vote of 144, wholly Republican, against
 44 nays, all but three of which were Democratic.

13 Within a year from that time its ratification was
 completed by the Nation; and to-day the black man
 and the white man are equal citizens according to the
 law and the Constitution of these United States.

14 If the history of this Society were fully written,
 one of its most interesting chapters would be a faith-
 ful record of its Series of Annual Fairs. Beginning
 in the year 1836, the series continued during twenty-
 six years, the last Fair being held in December, 1861.
 The total pecuniary proceeds derived from these
 Fairs were \$36,205.23, the net profits were \$28,024.55,
 a result of great importance to the Anti-Slavery
 Enterprise in Pennsylvania. And they yielded
 another harvest of not less value. The preparation
 for them was chiefly made in weekly assemblies,
 gathered for the purpose, in various neighborhoods;

in city and country, during several months of each year. The social attraction of these assemblies induced many young persons to mingle in them, besides those who labored from love of the cause. Brought thus within the circle of Anti-Slavery influence, many such were naturally converted to our principles and inspired with zeal in their behalf, and became earnest laborers in the Enterprise which had so greatly enriched their own souls. Many of these circles, doubtless, became nurseries whence our ranks were annually recruited. The week of the Fair was the annual Social Festival of the Abolitionists of the State. Though held under the immediate direction of this Society, it soon became a Pennsylvania institution. Hither our tribes came up to take counsel together, to recount our victories won, to be refreshed by social communion, and to renew our pledges of fidelity to the slave. There were years when these were very solemn Festivals, when our skies were dark with gathering storms, and we knew not what peril the night or the morning might bring. But they were always seasons from which we derived strength and encouragement for future toil and endurance, and their value to our cause is beyond our power to estimate.

The first of these Fairs was held in Fireman's Hall, a small room on North street. The receipts amounted to three hundred dollars, of which two hundred and sixty were net profit. Every succeeding one yielded larger results, the most productive

being that of 1853, from which the receipts were \$2,673.06.

The pro-slavery spirit which always pervaded our city, and which sometimes manifested itself in the violence of mobs, never seriously disturbed our Fair excepting in one instance. In the year 1859 our whole Southern country quaked with mortal fear in the presence of John Brown's great deed for Freedom. The coward North trembled, in its turn, lest its Southern trade should be imperilled, and in all its cities there went up a frantic cry that the Union must be saved and the Abolitionists suppressed. The usual time for holding our Fair was at hand. Before it was opened a daily newspaper of this city informed its readers that notwithstanding the rebuke which the Abolitionists had received from a recent meeting of Union-savers, they had audaciously announced their intention of holding another Fair, the avowed purpose of which was the dissemination of Anti-Slavery principles. The indignant journalist asked if Philadelphia would suffer such a Fair to be held. This was doubtless intended as a summons to a mob, and a most deadly mob responded to the call; but it did not expend its violence upon our Fair.* The High Constable, Mayor, and Sheriff were the agents employed by the Slave Power to take and hold possession of Concert Hall, and in its behalf, if not in its

* It was directed against an assembly in National Hall, gathered to listen to a lecture by George W. Curtis, upon the Present Aspect of the Country.

name, to eject us and our property. The work was commenced by the Mayor, who sent the High Constable with an order that our flag should be removed from the street. Its offensiveness consisted in the fact that it presented to the view of all passers by a picture of the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall, inscribed with the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." The next step was an attempt to induce the lessee to eject us from the hall. On his refusal to violate his contract with us, the trustees obtained legal authority to dispossess us on the plea that the hall had been rented for a purpose which tended to excite popular commotion. The Sheriff entered, took possession, and informed the Managers that our property must be removed within three hours. Then were the doors of this hall, † where we are now assembled, opened to us, and here our Fair was held, with great success, during the remainder of the week. In the stormiest seasons of our enterprise these saloons have never been closed against Anti-Slavery Meetings; and our Fair of 1860 was welcomed to them amidst the loud threatenings of a mob which were seeking to appease the angry South, then just rising in open rebellion against the United States Government. The experience of those four days of December spent in these rooms will never be forgotten by us. It was a season of trial, of rejoicing, and of victory. The veterans

† The Assembly Buildings, opened to us by the kindness of the lessee, Mr. John Toy.

of our cause, long accustomed to the threats and the presence of mobs, found reason for rejoicing in the courage and serenity with which the young recruits in our ranks faced the peril of scenes so new to them, and proved their faith in the principles of our cause and their devotion to the Right. Our victory was complete, our right of peaceful assemblage maintained, without any active demonstration of hostility from the indignant citizens who had fiercely resolved that the Anti-Slavery Fair should be suppressed. Such demonstrations were, doubtless, restrained by a knowledge of the fact that they would be met by vigorous and effectual opposition by the Mayor of the city, who, upon that occasion, as upon many other similar ones, was faithful to the responsibility of his office.

In the year 1862 the Nation was convulsed with the war consequent upon the Southern Rebellion; our soldiers, wounded and dying in hospitals and on battle-fields, claimed all possible aid from the community; Anti-Slavery sentiments were spreading widely through the North, and it was believed to be feasible and expedient to obtain the funds needful for our Enterprise by direct appeal to the old and new friends of the cause. Therefore, our series of Fairs closed with the twenty-sixth, in December, 1861.

A few years later, three successive Festivals, or Social Reunions, were held; the first under the auspices of this Society, the other two under the combined management of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and our own. The net profits de-

rived from these Festivals by this Society amounted to \$695.62.

Besides the revenue derived from our Fairs and Festivals, the annual subscriptions of our Members, during the period of the Society's existence, have amounted to \$3,508.47; donations to our Treasury have been \$2,191.77; and receipts from other sources, \$382.82, making a total of money raised by this Society of \$34,808.23. Nearly the whole of this revenue has been expended in disseminating the principles of our cause, by means of printed documents and public lectures and discussions. In the earlier years of this Society, a school for colored children, established and taught by Sarah M. Douglass, was partially sustained from our treasury. During twelve years the sum of \$1,998.93 was expended upon it; and an income of \$456.68 was derived from it, leaving a balance of \$1,542.25, paid from our treasury. In the year 1840 the school was withdrawn from our charge, by its teacher, and after the year 1849 our contributions to its support ceased. It continued to flourish, under the care of its devoted and faithful proprietor, for several years.

We also occasionally contributed, from our treasury, small sums for the use of the Vigilance Committees, organized to assist fugitive slaves who passed through this State, on their way to a land where their right to liberty would be protected.

But these enterprises were always regarded as of secondary importance to our great work of direct ap-

peal to the conscience of the Nation, in behalf of the Slave's claim to immediate, unconditional emancipation. To this end a large number of tracts and pamphlets have been circulated by this Society; but its chief agencies have been the Anti-Slavery newspapers of the country. Regarding these as the most powerful instrumentalities in the creation of that public sentiment which was essential to the overthrow of Slavery, we expended a considerable portion of our funds in the direct circulation of *The Liberator*, *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, and THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and a small amount in the circulation of other Anti-Slavery papers. Our largest appropriations of money have been made to the treasuries of the Pennsylvania and American Anti-Slavery Societies, and by those Societies, to the support of their organs and lecturing agents.

The financial statistics of this Society are easily recorded. Certain great and thrilling events which marked its history are easily told and written. But the life which it lived through all its thirty six years; the influence which flowed from it, directly and indirectly, to the Nation's heart; the work quietly done by its members, individually, through the word spoken in season, the brave, self-sacrificing deed, the example of fidelity in a critical hour, the calm endurance unto the end; these can be written in no earthly book of remembrance.

Its life is lived; its work is done; its memorial is sealed. It assembles, to-day, to take one parting

look across its years; to breathe in silence its unutterable thanksgiving; to disband its membership, and cease to be. Reviewing its experience of labor and endurance, the united voices of its members testify that it has been a service whose reward was in itself; and contemplating the grandeur of the work accomplished, (in which it has been permitted to bear a humble part), the overthrow of American Slavery, the uplifting from chattelhood to citizenship of four millions of human souls; with one heart and one voice we cry, "Not unto us, O Lord! not unto us, but unto thy name" be the glory; for thy right hand and thy holy arm "hath gotten the victory."

TREASURER'S REPORT.

*Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, in account with ANNIE
SHORMAKER, Treasurer.*

DR.

2d mo., 1869.	To Rent of room for Annual Meeting.....	\$ 5 00
	Subscription to N. A. S. Standard (50 copies).....	150 00
	Advertising Annual Meeting.....	3 93
	Printing Annual Report.....	43 50
	Postage upon Reports.....	1 00
	Rent of Room for Stated Meetings.....	9 00
2d mo., 1870.	Balance in Treasury.....	80 55

\$292 98

CR.

2d mo., 1869.	By Balance in Treasury.....	\$230 98
	Members' subscriptions.....	62 00

\$292 98

LYDIA GILLINGHAM, Auditor.

APPENDIX.

Minutes of the Meetings which organized the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

At a meeting of Females convened at the school-room of Catherine McDermott, 12th mo. 9th, 1833, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Female Anti-Slavery Society; addresses were made by Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn., and Nathaniel Southard, of Boston, who pointed out the important assistance that might be rendered by our sex in removing the great evil of slavery.

After some discussion upon this interesting subject, it was concluded to form a Society, in the belief that our combined efforts will more effectually aid in relieving the oppression of our suffering fellow creatures. For this purpose the following persons were appointed to draw a Constitution for its government, and to propose such measures as will be likely to promote the Abolition of Slavery, and to elevate the people of color from their present degraded situation to the full enjoyment of their rights, and to increased usefulness in society: viz., Lydia White, Catherine McDermott, Leah Fell, Anna Bunting, Catherine Robinson, Rachel Passmore, Margaretta Forten, Sarah

McCrummell, Mary Ann McClintock, Esther Moore, Lucretia Mott, Mary Sharpless, Mary Sleeper, and Lydia Thomas ; who are requested to report at our next meeting, to be held at this place on the evening of the 14th inst.

At a meeting held 12th mo. 14th [1833].

The Committee appointed on the 9th inst. submitted the form of a Constitution, which was read and adopted.

After its adoption, the following persons signed their names :

Lucretia Mott,	A. C. Eckstein,
Esther Moore,	Mary Wood,
Mary Ann Jackson,	Leah Fell,
Margaretta Forten,	Sidney Ann Lewis,
Sarah Louisa Forten,	Catherine McDermott,
Grace Douglass,	Susan M. Shaw,
Mary Sleeper,	Lydia White,
Rebecca Hitchins,	Sarah McCrummell,
Mary Clement,	Hetty Burr.

The Society then proceeded to the choice of officers for the ensuing year ; when the following persons were elected :

ESTHER MOORE,	<i>Presiding Officer.</i>
MARGARETTA FORTEN,	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
LUCRETIA MOTT,	<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>
ANNA BUNTING,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
LYDIA WHITE,	<i>Librarian.</i>

**Extracts from the Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth
and Final Annual Meeting of the Philadelphia
Female Anti-Slavery Society.**

The Society met according to adjournment in the Assembly Buildings on the 24th of 3d mo., 1870.

The President, LUCRETIA MOTT, opened the Meeting with a few appropriate remarks. She said that at this, the last meeting, an address to the people assembled might be expected; but her heart was so full that there was room only for a feeling of thankfulness. Remembering the time when this Society was formed, she rejoiced to see among the persons assembled some who had assisted in its organization, and others who had joined at a time when their names were therefore cast out as evil. In our most sanguine moments we never then expected to see the consummation now attained. Truly the Lord had triumphed gloriously, and in view of all that had been accomplished, she could only say, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy Salvation."

The Corresponding Secretary said that, as directed

by the Society, she had sent an invitation to two of our former members, now resident in other States, to be present with us on this occasion; and also to Rev. Samuel J. May, who assisted at the organization of this Society. She then read the following letter:

CHICAGO, March 20th.

MARY GREW,—*My dear friend* :—Until within a few days I had indulged in a faint hope of going Eastward this spring; and in that event I should have hoped to sit again and for the last time with those with whom, in the days that are gone, I sat in solemn, and sometimes very disheartening council. It was not given to us to look forward with eyes so anointed that we could see the end accomplished in our own day. And well was it for us, for the cost at which we have gained the victory has been so fearful that we should have shuddered and turned back at the thought. I am sure that no Abolitionist in his *wildest* mood ever contemplated the awful price at which the slaves' freedom would be bought.

But, my dear friend, we will nevertheless rejoice together, or I shall *with* you, though because of illness in my family I cannot go from home. With many blessings and good wishes, I am

ELIZABETH GAY.

It was announced that the entire series of the minute books of this Society were on the table, for the inspection of any of the members who might wish to examine them.

The Secretary read a letter from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, requesting that this Society will present the books in its library and other publications to that Association, to be preserved in their Anti-Slavery department. The letter was referred

to the Committee and at our last meeting to dispose of the proposed business of this Society.

The annual Report was then read by the Corresponding Secretary, after which several persons briefly addressed the meeting.

LUORETIA MOTT remarked, with reference to the course pursued by the Anti-Slavery Societies, that they had always relied upon appeals to the moral sense and the intelligence of the people, never counselling the overthrow of slavery by violence. This example, she trusted, might be useful in succeeding enterprises of similar kind.

On motion, the Annual Report was adopted, and ordered to be published.

A Resolution was offered tendering the thanks of the Society to the Corresponding Secretary for her long-continued and self-sacrificing services in the cause of Freedom. After some discussion the following Resolution was offered as a substitute, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the efficient and unremitting services of our Corresponding Secretary, Mary Grew, during almost the whole period of the existence of our Society, attested by the Thirty-four successive Reports, so faithfully and succinctly written, marking the annual progress of the Anti-Slavery movement; are most highly appreciated, and merit the warmest and most grateful acknowledgments of the Society.

Responding to this resolution, MARY GREW said:*

"It is now my turn, friends, to thank you; and I

* As reported phonographically.

do it most heartily. I thank you that when I came from New England, young, beginning the work of mature life, you took me by the hand; that by the kindly imposition of your hands you ordained me to this work which I have found it most pleasant and profitable to pursue during all these years. If it had been proper for me to take part in the discussion of that resolution, I should have asked you to omit one word, simply for the reason that it is not true. I know of no self-sacrifice which clings to my anti-slavery history. My work may have been done well or ill; yet certain it is, it has not been a self-sacrificing work. It has brought me so rich a return of spiritual culture and strength; it has so fitted me for the true enjoyment of life, for all the work of life which I have done in other fields, that when I say I have received an abundant recompense of reward, the language is too weak to express my feeling. I thank you for the influences which I have derived from this Society; I thank our President here to-day for the influences which have flowed from her words and her life into my own, and which have helped to fit me for any work which I have done. I account it one of the great blessings of my life that, though born in New England, and still loving that land as every New Englander does, I was brought here, where women had a broader field of labor than was then permitted there; and thus I have been taught to do a work which, otherwise, I might not have been taught. I say this in reverent humility, for it is very

little that I or any of us can do; but for what I have been able to do, with all my heart I thank you, for you have helped me. And for you and for myself, I thank the Providence of God which called us to this anti-slavery work in the early days, and has led us by His own way up to this hour, to this glorious result which we scarcely dared to hope our eyes should see. We are thankful for this discipline which has educated us for better service in other fields.

"If we put off our armor here to-day, it is but for a moment's breathing-space, to be resumed for other conflicts. However much we may feel to-day, as we close this meeting and disband our Society, that we should like to depart in peace, our eyes having seen *this* salvation, we are all willing to remain and work elsewhere, as we may be called to work, till we shall hear our Father's summons, 'Come up higher!'"

MARGARETTA FORTEN, one of the founders of the Society, moved the adoption of the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, The Amended Constitution of the United States declares that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction:

And that all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside: And that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, lib-

erty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws:

And that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and

Whereas, The object for which this Association was organized is thus accomplished, therefore

Resolved, That the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, grateful for the part allotted to it in this great work, and rejoicing in the victory which has concluded the long conflict between Slavery and Freedom in America, does now and hereby disband.

The preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted. The meeting then adjourned.

GULIELMA M. S. P. JONES, *Recording Secretary*.

The following letter arrived too late to be read at the meeting:

CAMBRIDGE, March 25th, 1870.

MISS MARY GREW: * * I returned to my headquarters, at my son's house in this city, last evening, after an absence of nearly a week, and found here your letter of the 18th inst.—too late for me to respond to it, as I should gladly have done, contributing a few earnest words of congratulation on the grand event in our national history which I presume the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society celebrated yesterday; and tendering my heartfelt acknowledgments to your Association for the inestimable services you have rendered in the subversion and overthrow of American Slavery.

It is one of the proudest recollections of my life that I was a member of the Convention in Philadelphia, in De-

cember, 1833, that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society. And I well remember the auspicious sequel to it, the formation of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society. Nor shall I ever forget the wise, the impressive, the animating words spoken in our Convention by dear Lucretia Mott and two or three other excellent women who came to that meeting by divine appointment. But with this last recollection will be forever associated the mortifying fact, that we men were then so blind, so obtuse, that we did not recognize those women as members of our Convention, and insist upon their subscribing their names to our "Declaration of Sentiments and Purposes."

It will not be denied by any person who is familiar with the history of our conflict for the last thirty-seven years, that the anti-slavery women of our country have done more than we men have done—more in disseminating those sentiments and rousing our nation to the accomplishment of those purposes.

You ladies of Philadelphia have chosen an appropriate occasion for the disbanding of your Anti-Slavery Society. But such is still the condition of the colored population of our country—especially in the late Slave States—that you must allow me to express earnestly the hope that you will renew your organization under another name, and labor on for the education and elevation of the Freedmen until they shall be secured in the possession and in the intelligent and wise exercise of all the political and civil rights and privileges of American citizens.

Please give my best regards to your venerable and venerated President, and to all the members of your Society with whom I am acquainted, and believe me very cordially and gratefully your friend,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

*Official Proclamation of the Ratification of the
Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of
the United States.*

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13, 1865.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State of the United States,
to all to whom these presents may come, greeting :

KNOW YE, That whereas the Congress of the United States, on the first of February last, passed a resolution which is in the words following, namely :

“ A resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States.

“ *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring*, That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution, namely :

“ **ARTICLE XIII.** Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

“ Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

And whereas, It appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin,

Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina and Georgia—in all twenty-seven States;

And whereas, The whole number of States in the United States is thirty-six;

And whereas, The before specially-named States, whose Legislatures have ratified the said proposed amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue, and in pursuance of the second section of the Act of Congress approved the twentieth day of April, 1818, entitled "An Act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes," do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1865, and of the independence of the United States of America the ninetieth.

WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Section 1st of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws.

Official Proclamation of the Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

To all to whom these presents come—Greeting :

Know ye that the Congress of the United States, on or about the 27th day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit :

" A resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

" Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely :

" ARTICLE 15, SECTION 1. THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES TO VOTE, SHALL NOT BE DENIED OR ABRIDGED BY THE UNITED STATES, OR BY ANY STATE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR PREVIOUS CONDITION OF SERVITUDE.

" SECTION 2. THE CONGRESS SHALL HAVE POWER TO ENFORCE THIS ARTICLE BY APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION."

And further, That it appears from the official documents on file in this Department that the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of—

NORTH CAROLINA,	CONNECTICUT,	MISSOURI,
WEST VIRGINIA,	FLORIDA,	MISSISSIPPI,
MASSACHUSETTS,	ILLINOIS,	OHIO,
WISCONSIN,	INDIANA,	IOWA,
MAINE,	NEW YORK,	KANSAS,

LOUISIANA,	NEW HAMPSHIRE,	MINNESOTA,
MICHIGAN,	NEVADA,	RHODE ISLAND,
SOUTH CAROLINA,	VERMONT,	NEBRASKA,
PENNSYLVANIA,	VIRGINIA,	TEXAS,
ARKANSAS,	ALABAMA.	

In all twenty-nine States.

And further, That the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

And further, That it appears from an official document, on file in this Department, that the Legislature of the State of New York has since passed resolutions claiming to withdraw the said ratification of the said amendment which had been made by the Legislature of that State, and of which official notice had been filed in this Department.

And further, That it appears from an official document, on file in this Department, that the Legislature of Georgia has by resolution ratified the said proposed amendment.

Now, therefore, be it known, That I, Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the second section of the Act of Congress, approved the 20th day of April, in the year 1818 entitled, "An act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes," do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, and of the independence of the United States the ninety-fourth.

HAMILTON FISH.

Message from the President.

To the Senate and House of Representatives :

It is unusual to notify the two Houses of Congress by message of the promulgation, by proclamation of the Secretary of State, of the ratification of a Constitutional Amendment. In view, however, of the vast importance of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, this day declared a part of that revered instrument, I deem a departure from the usual custom justifiable. A measure which makes at once four millions of people voters, who were heretofore declared by the highest tribunal in the land not citizens of the United States, nor eligible to become so, with the assertion that at the time of the Declaration of Independence the opinion was fixed and universal—in the civilized portion of the white race, regarded as an axiom in morals as well as in politics—that “black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect,” is indeed a measure of grander importance than any other one act of the kind from the foundation of our free Government to the present time. Institutions like ours, in which all power is derived directly from the people, must depend mainly upon their intelligence, patriotism, and industry. I call the attention, therefore, of the newly-enfranchised race to the importance of their striving, in every honorable manner, to make themselves worthy of their new privilege. To the race more favored heretofore by our laws, I would say, withhold no legal privilege of advancement to the new citizen. The framers of our Constitution firmly believed that a republican form of government could not endure without intelligence and education generally diffused among the people. The Father of his Country, in his Farewell Address, uses this language: “Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance, institutions for the general

diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of the Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." In his first annual Message to Congress the same views were forcibly presented, and are again urged in his eighth Message.

I repeat that the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change, and constitutes the most important event that has occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendations of Washington. If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now, with a population of forty millions, and increasing in a rapid ratio! I would therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their Constitutional power to promote and encourage popular education throughout the country, and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in the Government a blessing and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured.

U. S. GRANT.

Executive Mansion, March 30th, 1870.

HAMILTON FISH,
Secretary of State of the United States.

"Oh! if the spirits of the parted come,
 Visiting angels, to their olden home;
 If the dead fathers of the land look forth
 From their far dwellings, to the things of earth—
 Is it a dream that with their eyes of love,
 They gaze now on us from the bowers above?
 LAY's ardent soul—and BARNER the mild,
 Steadfast in faith, yet gentle as a child—
 Meek-hearted WOOLMAN—and that brother band,
 The sorrowing exiles from their "FATHERLAND,"
 Leaving their homes in Kriesheim's bowers of vine,
 And the blue beauty of their glorious Rhine,
 To seek amidst our solemn depths of wood
 Freedom from man and holy peace with God;
 Who first of all their testimonial gave
 Against the oppressor,—for the outcast slave,—
 Is it a dream that such as these look down,
 And with their blessing our rejoicings crown?"

* * * * *
 "——— not a slave beneath his yoke shall pine,
 From broad Potomac to the far Sabine;
 For unto angel lips at last is given
 The silver trump of jubilee in Heaven;

